1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

[13] [101] Regional Terminology. The term "o recôncavo" can be applied to any crescentic littoral. In Brazil, however, "the Recôncavo" is almost universally understood to refer to a semicircle of land bordering the Baía de Todos os Santos in the state of Bahia. It is no more necessary to ask which Recôncavo in Brazil than to ask which South in the United States.

The Recôncavo has a less consistently defined content and boundary than the United States South. The extent of the area intended is individually determined in both common and scholarly usage--usually the limit of the region is implied rather than delineated. In traditional usage the Recôncavo generally is equated with the sugar cane area, but at least as often the area designated includes all the relatively densely settled and intensively utilized zone around the Baía de Todos os Santos.

[12] [13] In delimiting the Recôncavo as a preliminary to field and statistical investigation it seemed desirable to enclose all areas which may customarily be included in the region. In addition, since the Recôncavo is conceived here primarily as an agricultural region, it seemed most consistent to include all other contiguous areas of equivalent agricultural utilization. Thus a search was made for a criterion for a tentative boundary which would circumscribe: (1) the traditional Recôncavo areas; and (2) the contiguous areas of equal agricultural intensity; and which in addition would (3) define the limit on a consistent statistical basis. These three requirements would be met with a boundary determined by the per cent of the land in agricultural use--a criterion which would summarize the intensity of land-use for [127] cultivation, fallow, and pasture. Appropriate data were available from the 1940 census. By inspection it was determined that twenty per cent [311] of the total area in agricultural use was the value of an isopleth which would enclose the traditional and equivalent areas and would

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 8]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954) 1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

APPENDIX A

Sub-Regions and Municipios of the Recôncavo

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Central Recôncavo:
- Santo Amaro
- São Francisco
- São Sebastião
- Cachoeira

Northern Recôncavo:
- Coração de Maria
- Irará
- Alagoinhas

Northwestern Recôncavo:
- Feira de Santana
- São Gonçalo
- Conceição da Feira
- Santo Estêvão

Southwestern Recôncavo:
- Muritiba
- Cruz das Almas
- Conceição do Almeida
- São Filipe
- São Félix

Eastern Recôncavo:
- Catu
- Pojuca

Southern Recôncavo:
- Maragogipe
- Itaparica
- Salvador

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100 Marvin Harris, Benjamin Zimmerman, and Anthony Leeds, who conducted these related studies.

122 To the many members of the Tourinho, Junqueira Ayres, 123 Ariani Machado, and Albuquerque Porciuncula families of Bahia, who opened their doors to me, extending traditional Bahian hospitality throughout my stay both in Salvador and in the field, I am very grateful. Their full cooperation, understanding, and good will have contributed immeasurably to this study.

122 To those who made it possible for me to extend the scope of the field work to other areas of the Recôncavo, the directors of Magalhães and company, the director of Usina Terra Nova, Dr. Themístocles Monteiro, the director of Usina Aliança, Dr. Helenauro Sampaio, the chemical engineer of Usina São Carlos, Dr. Augusto Vilas Boas, and Eugenio Santos, who gave inestimable aid, my sincerest thanks.

114 To Frei Miguel Marcinkowski, Frei Pacifico Weismann, 101 Dona Maria Pinto, Elisa Amelia Ferreira, and all my friends of Vila Recôncavo* where the study was made is due my profound gratitude. Last and most profoundly, I am indebted to my 128 wife, Carmelita Junqueira Ayres Hutchinson, for her invalu- 114 able assistance in the field and constant encouragement during the preparation of the manuscript.

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Faculdade de Filosofia
Universidade da Bahia
September, 1956

128 *Although Vila Recôncavo is a real town, the names of all persons and places have been changed for the purposes of this study.

21 Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1960-1961) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

1. Sugar Country

THE REGION of Brazil in which this study was made is a small area in the state of Bahia called the Recôncavo. This is the land surrounding the Bay of All Saints, a fertile basin extending inland no more than 40 kilometers at the most. Situated on a high bluff overlooking the entrance to the Bay of All Saints is Salvador, the capital of the state of Bahia, generally referred to as Bahia, or "the capital," or simply "the city." After Salvador was settled in 1549, the colonization of the Recôncavo proceeded at a rapid rate. Since early in the colonial period, the Recôncavo has been divided into three distinct areas: a southern area devoted mainly to the raising of manioc, the food staple of much of Brazil; a western section devoted to the cultivation of tobacco; and a northern and eastern area, given almost exclusively to large-scale sugar-cane monoculture. This study was made in the third zone, the one producing sugar cane.

The region, which can be called the "sugar-Recôncavo," partakes of the long tradition of sugar-cane growing which formed the basis for the early colonization of Brazil. A narrow strip of land along the northeast coast of Brazil in what are now the states of Pernambuco, Sergipe, Alagoas, and Bahia was the focus of the economic, political, and social life of the entire colony. This region, under the colonization of the Portuguese, produced a large part of the world's sugar supply at a time when sugar was a great luxury in Europe. The northeast coast of Brazil became an exceedingly prosperous part of the colony early in its history. Salvador, in Bahia, and Recife, in Pernambuco, became the most impor-

It must be remembered that these figures include the capital city, the population of which is about 450,000. If this is subtracted from the total population of the Recôncavo, the average density of the Recôncavo is approximately 27 persons per square kilometer.

Vila Recôncavo, the community of this study, is part of a county located 41 kilometers across the bay from Salvador. The community includes the town of Vila Recôncavo, which is the county seat, and the surrounding rural zone. Throughout the study we will be dealing with these two components of the sugar-cane plantation community, sometimes separately and sometimes together.

The only public transportation to the town is by boat from the capital, a three-hour trip across the bay, threading through numerous islands. The major part of the trip is made on remarkably blue water, usually serenely calm but occasionally violently agitated, especially during the winter. One-, two-, and three-masted sailing vessels and an occasional large sailing canoe, the centuries-old methods of transportation in Bahia, are passed on their way into the city, carrying fruit, vegetables, pottery, firewood, fish, tobacco, manioc flour, and sugar to the more than four hundred thousand people of the city, as they have done since the early colonization of the Recôncavo. The only new element in the scene is the small diesel boat which makes the trip back and forth across the bay, outward bound one day and returning the next with the outgoing tide.

As the boat nears the luxuriantly green, palm-crested islands, stopping at several to discharge the mail, passengers, and "city goods," one becomes aware of the feeling of stepping back into the past. Barefoot children are selling oranges, peanuts, and fish; and parrots and parakeets, sometimes doped with rum to make them appear tame. The mailman on the dock receives the sack of mail and gives it to his helper to carry to the post office; the island priest may receive a message or package entrusted to the captain of the boat or may even go aboard to travel to the church on another island. The others on the dock call to friends on the boat and exchange news or else simply watch the activity of docking the boat and the casting off. The people of the islands are light-skinned, although well sunburned. Many of them are vacationers from the city, dressed in brightly colored clothes, for the islands are well-known resorts. The others, barefoot, wearing shorts

3: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1967 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

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9. *Recent Changes in Vila Recôncavo*

THE FIELD WORK described in Chapters 1 through 8 of this study was carried out from June, 1950, to June, 1951. In 1955 and 1956 the author had the opportunity to do further work in Vila Recôncavo. This chapter is a summary of some of the changes which have occurred during the five-year period from 1951 to 1956.

First, the sugar industry has undergone several changes, developing still further from the plantation (engenho) toward the highly industrialized factory (usina) as postulated in the introduction. The factory-plantation system, as distinct from the private plantations, has experienced the most change.

Usina São Pedro was described earlier as a family corporation, owned and directed by members of one extended family. At one time in the past five years, this family was obliged to take into the corporation a large amount of capital representing a second family enterprise, considerably larger in scope than that of the first. Within a short period the second family achieved complete control of the factory through a series of financial manipulations. As a result, Usina São Pedro passed from the Conde family's ownership and direction, and is now just one element of a large commercial firm.

For a more complete understanding of Bahian society it is necessary that we examine this second family corporation. The key word is "family," which represents almost a constant in this culture. The second family, the Helvetians, is a second generation immigrant family. The major activities of the family corporation--there are other stockholders, especially employees, with small holdings--have always been commercial: exporting, importing, distributing, and transporting. The cor-

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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By 1710 Bahian tobacco[15] was being shipped in quantity to "the Mina coast," which for more than a century thereafter absorbed a full third of Bahia's production.[16] A visitor early in the eighteenth century referred to Bahia as "New Guinea";[17] while the natives of Guinea were said at that time to have called the outer world "Bahia."[18]

In 1781 fifty vessels were engaged in the Brazilian traffic, "eight or ten with Angola and the rest with the Sudanese coast."[19] In 1800 twenty vessels were plying the trade from Bahia alone. According to custom-house records, 29,172 Negroes from "the Mina coast" and the islands of São Thomé and Principe entered Bahia during the decade from

[15] *Aguardente*, or *cachaça* (cheap rum), sugar, and manioc meal were also extensively used for trading purposes, as similarly were cowries (*búzios*) from the coast south of Bahia.

[16] Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 180.

[17] Amadeu Francisco Frézier, *Relation d'un voyage à la mer du sud* (Paris, 1716); cf. Calmon, *op. cit.*, p. 185. The demand for slave labor in the gold fields of Minas Geraes so stimulated importations that La Barbinais, visiting Bahia in 1717, estimated that in that year 25,000 Africans were landed at Bahia. See Affonso de E. Taunay, *Na Bahia colonial* (Rio, 1925), p. 364.

[18] "It was principally to Bahia .... that the unfortunate sons of Lybia were brought, and it is for this reason that the natives of Guinea give the name of Bahia to Brazil, to America, and even to Europe" (Onesime Reclus, quoted by Manoel Querino, "A raça africana e os seus costumes na Bahia," *Annaes do quinto congresso brasileiro de geographia* [Rio, 1916], p. 626).

[19] Calmon, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–81. See letter of Silva Lisboa, *Annaes da Bibliotéca Nacional*, XXXII, 504. From September 29, 1771, to September 22, 1772, nine slave ships with 2,307 Negroes entered the port of Bahia. One ship, "Nossa Senhora do Rosario," carrying 371 Africans "and two babies at the breast" had not had a single death on the voyage. Another vessel, "Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Ponte," sailing from the Mina coast with a call at São Thomé, landed 13 without casualty, July 11, 1772. But other ships lost, respectively, 111 out of 374, 17 out of 468, 17 out of 158, 29 out of 233, 11 out of 308, 44 out of 327, 20 out of 302—a total loss of 249 out of 2,554 leaving the African coast (from custom-house records; see Amaral, *op. cit.*, p. 458).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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CHAPTER III

CASA GRANDE AND *SENZALA*[1]

EVEN as late as the second quarter of the nineteenth century a visitor to Brazil wrote: "Again and again, while travelling in the interior, I have seen troops of new slaves of both sexes, who could not speak a single word of Portuguese, varying from twenty to one hundred individuals, marched inland for sale, or already belonging to proprietors of plantations."[2] These newly imported Africans were known as *negros novos*, or "new Negroes."[3]

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Since the major portion of African importations into Bahia came from contiguous territory in Africa, the Negroes ordinarily brought with them closely related dialects and, consequently, could more easily communicate among themselves in African tongues. Gradually there came into general use, especially among the influential semi-independent *negros de ganho*, an African language known as Nagô,[4] which by facilitating intercommunication intensified the Negroes' moral isolation from the white world and retarded the whole acculturation process. Nagô continued for a long time to

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[1] The "Big House" and the "slave quarters."

[2] George Gardner, *Travels in the Interior of Brazil, 1836–1841* (London, 1849), p. 12.

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[3] Nina Rodrigues, *Os africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, 1932), p. 187.

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[4] "Like the French, we in Bahia call Nagôs all Negroes from the Slave Coast who speak the Yoruba language. Of this group we have received slaves from all the smaller subdivisions, from Oyó the capital of Yoruba, from Ilorin, Ige-sha, Ibadan, Ifé, Iebú, Egba, Lagos, etc." (*ibid.*, p. 157).

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